2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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668 787 796 doing in the beyond meant not alone to put aside the alien customs of European culture, but actively to take up again the native ways of the Indian. The Pawnee turned back to the past for values and satisfactions lacking in the present.

178 The revival of Pawnee culture which began to materialize in the years of the Ghost Dance went back for its material primarily to three sources in the old culture: the bundles and bundle rituals, the societies, and the games. The general attempt to resuscitate the aboriginal forms, supplemented and fortified by the inspirations and mandates of the visions, resulted in three types of cultural rebirth. The activities of old ceremony, performance and play were fostered; the paraphernalia were put in order, renewed, and recreated; and concepts from the old context were enshrined in symbols and facsimiles which were carried in the dance and integrated in new cultural forms.

BUNDLES AND BUNDLE RITUALS

778 796 178 The principal bundles of the Pawnee in aboriginal times were the sacred bundles,[1] often spoken of as village or band bundles, and the medicine men's bundles. The former were predominantly concerned with cosmological powers and references; the latter with the animate forms of the earth, the waters and the air (animals and trees, fish and water-creatures, birds). By 1892 sacred bundle ritual demonstrations had practically ceased; of the medicine [756] men's ceremonies, the great doctor performances of the fall had ceased in 1878, but the Doctor Dances of the spring and summer continued at irregular intervals, and such medicine men's ceremonies as the Buffalo Dance were also carried out on occasion, while the Bear Dance had died out. Resuscitation of the old bundle [764] rituals was the most difficult problem of revival and could not be fully met: a good part of the sacred rituals and paraphernalia had been buried in the grave with their final priests. There were two modes or types of occasion on which bundles were opened in aboriginal times: to demonstrate the ritual, and to renew or repair the bundle parts and contents. There is little evidence that the Pawnee succeeded in actively rehabilitating the ceremonies of the sacred bundles, but they did succeed in reconstructing the medicine men's

[1] I avoid any attempt to here catalog or describe the many bundles of the four Pawnee bands, which would of necessity be lengthy and for the most part irrelevant. The interested reader may consult Murie, Societies, pp. 549—556.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the old and learned always held back something until they were ready to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest, a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance: the physical bundle survived, though it might be less and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals, which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their time: and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would "see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision then became a command upon himself and others around him to carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or ceremony was no longer officially in existence: those who had known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this century, it was the revived form which was studied and recorded. The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirat[a], the main bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society was lost. At a meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said, "I had

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based on work with present-day informants.

The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat" band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation: in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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they also encounter a golden eagle seated upon a mound, its eyes giving off sparks of fire. By some this eagle is thought to be Tirawa. The eagle directs the soul along the proper road, and as it approaches the spirit-village that is its destination, if it is time for it to enter, it is not stopped. If its possessor did not lead a good life, however, it may be directed back to earth and given another chance. The souls of medicine-men wander over the land visiting the lodges of animals and eventually reach the spirit-village of the medicine-men. Before entering, they must undergo a sweat bath and be sprinkled with fine dust.

According to one informant, souls are like small stars. At death, the soul goes off the way a cloud comes up and disappears, or the way a wind blows up and dies down. The souls of people who have been seen by the Star of Disease and who have as a result died of illness are taken by the South Star to his home in the south. The disposition of all other souls is determined by the Morning Star, who decides whether they shall be restored to life, taken with him to the east, or sent to the south. And it is the Morning Star's importance in this matter that caused the Skidi to bury their dead with the head toward the east.

As a rule, the preparation of the body for burial began immediately after death, and the burial followed within two or three hours.

The preparation of the body varied according to the rank and position of the deceased. When a man of importance was about to die he was carefully dressed in his best costume. Immediately after death, the body was painted with sacred red ointment by a priest engaged specially for the purpose. By this paint the man's friends in the spirit land would know that he had been well taken care of on this earth. The red ointment gave the rough and emaciated skin a smooth and healthy appearance. The body was now considered holy, for a corpse without the red paint was looked upon as dust and could not enter the land of the spirits. (Relative to this belief see Dorsey, 1904, pp. 69 ff.) The dead man was next wrapped in his buffalo robe. Should he have been a member of a society possessing ceremonial paraphernalia, as, for example, the Dog Soldiers, his feathers, whistles, rattles, etc., would be placed with him, and his face painted according to the style employed by his society. In the case of other societies the body would be prepared in a similarly appropriate manner.

The preparation of the bodies of those who died in extremely old age was similar to the method given above.

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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and obtain a scalp. This was carried home to the village on a pole, and scalp dances were inaugurated. The scalp was consecrated to one of the deities of the heavens, and the man who had taken it wrapped a piece of it in a small buckskin sack with tobacco. This was tied to a long stick representing an arrow and thrust into the grave. Another small piece of the scalp was burned upon the grave.

The name of a dead person could not be mentioned during the mourning period. If anyone mentioned the name of an individual who had been killed in war, it was thought that he would probably suffer the same fate as the person killed.

Reference has been made to the fact that personal belongings were buried with the dead. However, there were certain exceptions to this practice. Personal war bundles containing meteorites or any objects supposed to have had their origin in the heavens were not buried. This was in accordance with the belief that these objects belonged in the heavens and not in the ground. Hence, when an individual possessing such objects died, and if the relatives did not want them, the bundle was unwrapped and the objects were placed on a high hill, whence they returned to the heavens. Such objects were supposed to be the children of stars, watched over by them, and it was believed that when people had no further use for these "children," they would return to their parents in the sky. Also, if a medicine-man died during the time he was giving instruction to his son, his medicine bundle was retained for the boy's use when he became of age.

A further illustration of the burial of belongings with the dead is contained in the following incident. A Skidi chief's daughter died. The father had received calumet pipe sticks from the Chaui band, and his daughter had participated in the ceremony accompanying the gift. Her death followed shortly after the ceremony and was attributed to the belief that the ceremony had not been properly performed. Consequently, over her grave her father placed the pipe sticks, oriole's nest, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, and tobacco bag that comprised the special objects used in the ceremony. That year drought prevailed, the crops withered, buffalo could not be found, and the Skidi were forced to depend on their cache reserves. The Chaui priest who had originally brought the pipe sticks visited the Skidi, and with the chief to whom he had presented them, went to the grave, removed the ceremonial objects, wrapped them in a bundle, and taking the earth from over the body, placed the bundle next to it. He then re-filled the grave. Shortly after, there

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

Miscellaneous Notes on Behavior

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particularly to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age. They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852
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Their dress consists of leggings, generally made of scarlet cloth; over which a piece of blue or brown woollen cloth is tied around the waist, the ends lapping over each other, and extending a little below the knees. The upper dress consists of a shirt or short gown, made of calico, reaching to the middle. Over the whole a blanket or robe is slung, above which, on the back, may frequently be discovered the black sparkling eyes of a little "papoose" peering forth.

INTOXICATING DRINK.—It is somewhat remarkable, that the Pawnees are not so fond of "fire water," as other tribes, who are fast dwindling away from the demoralizing and debasing effects of intoxicating drink. Nothing, perhaps, has aided more in diminishing the population of different Indian tribes, than spirituous liquors. To the missionary, it is always gratifying and encouraging to observe, when a tribe takes a bold stand against the introduction of this destructive poison. The Pawnees allow none to be brought into their villages.

BURYING THEIR DEAD.—On the highest mounds in the prairie, we often observed little hillocks of earth, which we were informed, were the places of sepulture of their chiefs and others of their tribe. A tall bush was frequently stuck in the ground, to designate the spot. We were also informed, that among the Pawnees, and other wild tribes, the cruel practice prevails, when they are on their hunt, and their old people get so feeble, that they can no longer accompany them, of leaving them behind, and even burying them alive.—In allusion to this fact, Mr. Allis, pointing to their old and feeble chief, addressed the other chiefs as follows: "I have learned, that you intend to put aside your old chief, because he is now feeble and sickly, and perhaps you will even think of burying him, when he can no longer follow you; but I want you to take care of him. He has been like a father to you. When he was yet strong, you know his kettle was always over the fire with plenty. He has always been a friend of the whites, and you ought to esteem him for the services he has rendered your nation, and not to bury him before he is dead."

More might be added, to show the wretchedness of their present state, but we should fear to become too tedious. Sufficient, however, has been said, to prove, that these poor people need the assistance of missionaries to better them in their outward condition. But, when we consider their spiritual destitution,—their ignorance, darkness, and superstition,—

Shall WE whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall WE to men benighted
The lamp of life deny?"

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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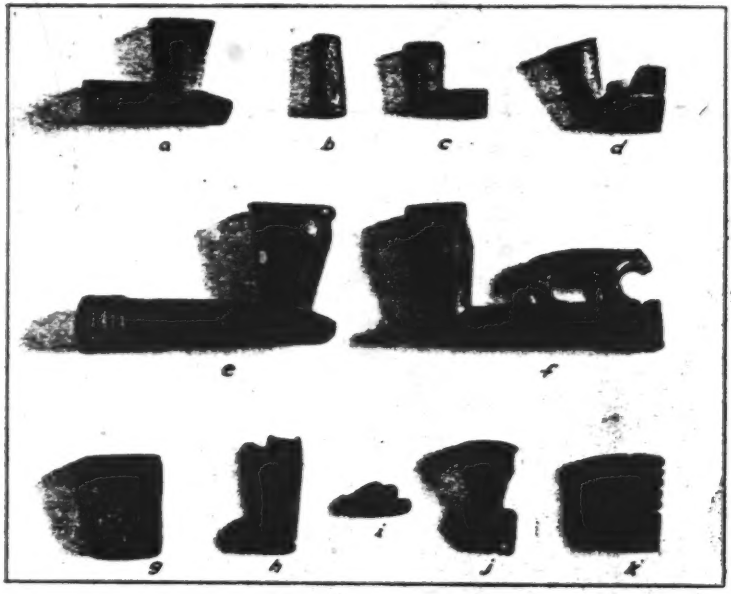

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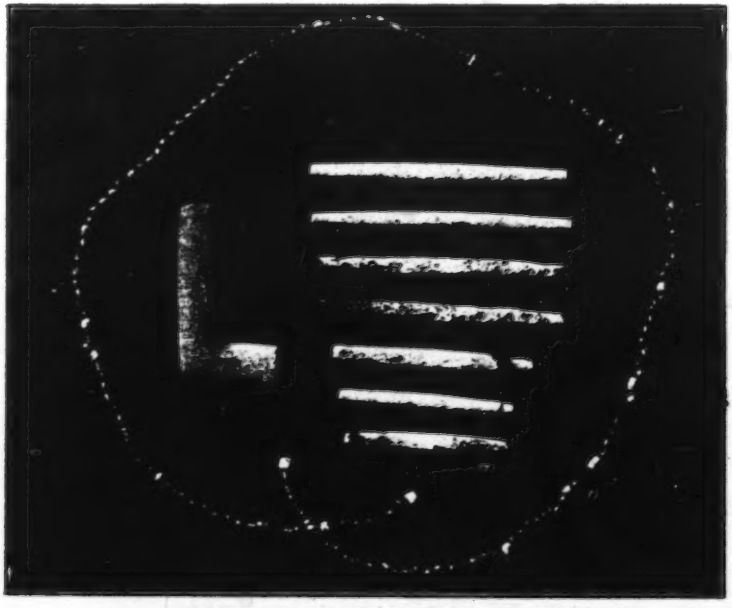

PIPES AND MORTUARY OFFERINGS. VARIOUS SITES (HISTORIC PAWNEE).

[End plate 8]

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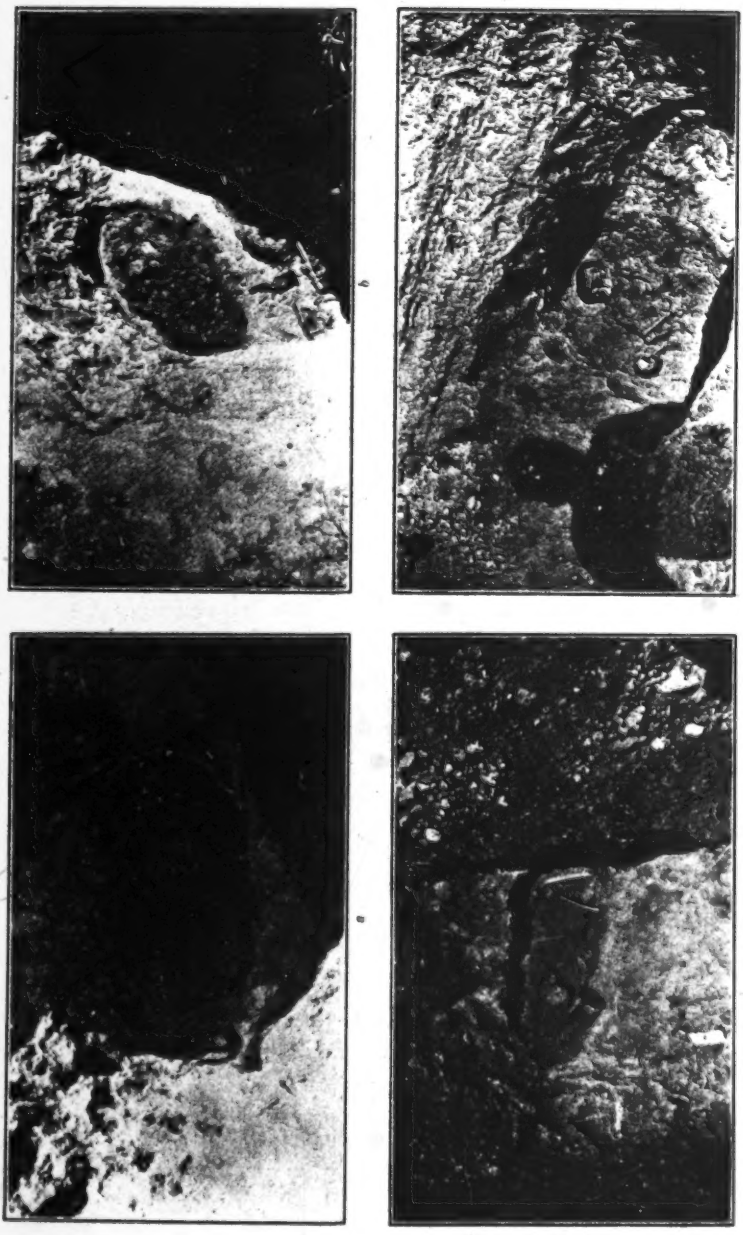

BULLETIN 113 PLATE 11

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

PAWNEE BURIALS (HISTORIC SITES).

[End Plate 11]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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To the north of the village site, perhaps a half mile from the river, are three prominent hills, the summit of each being covered with burials. These have been repeatedly dug into by local "relic hunters" and much valuable material thoughtlessly destroyed in the quest for medals, pots, and the like. A county highway crosses the central hill, and nearly every widening of the road or deepening of the side ditches has resulted in the exposure of graves. At the time of the writer's visit to the site in 1930 Mr. A. T. Hill located in one of the ditches the grave of a young child. From this was taken a very well-preserved skeleton, a small complete vessel, and other articles, to be treated at length in another portion of this paper. Most of the burials found have been accompanied by glass beads, lead rings, and other objects indicative of white contact. However, pre-Caucasian graves should be diligently sought as the site appears to have been early historic and may strike back into the late prehistoric.

FULLERTON SITE.—This site, first settled by the Skidi in 1842[44] and abandoned by them in 1846 or soon thereafter because of Dakota raids,[45] is situated on the north bank of the Loup River, immediately below the mouth of the Cedar, about 2 miles east and a half mile north of the town of Fullerton.[46] It, too, occupies a bench some 30 feet high, with the river flowing immediately at the base. Clayton's description of the site, written in 1847 while the Mormon emigrants were crossing the Loup at this point, sums up the situation very nicely:

> This village is situated on the north bank of the Loup Fork of the Nebraska or Platte River, about 4 miles southwest of the mission station on Plumb Creek [now Council Creek] and 138 miles from Winter Quarters [at Florence, Nebr.] . . . . On the east and west of the village is a beautiful level bench of prairie extending many miles, and to the ridge of bluffs which run east and west touching within a mile of the village [on the north]. On the top of the bluffs can be seen a number of Indian graves. To the northwest about a mile distant, and at the foot of the bluffs, is an extensive cornfield, the stalks still standing. On the south [i. e., across the Loup] is a beautiful view of the nice level prairie extending to the main branch of the Platte, the timber on the banks can be faintly, but plainly seen. . . . The village occupies a space of about 40 acres of land and is mostly enclosed by a ditch about 5 feet wide and a bank inside the ditch about 4 feet high, running from the bank of the river around the village till it again strikes the bank, and when perfect has formed a good fortification. A number of lodges are built outside the ditch on the east end on account of want of room inside when the bands from the other village joined them. The village is composed of about 200 houses or lodges [of which but one remained intact] . . . .[47]

[44] Dunbar, 1918, pp. 648, 654.
[45] Clayton, 1921, p. 95.
[46] NE. ¼ sec. 7, T. 16 N., R. 5 W., in Nance County, Nebr.
[47] 1921, pp. 95–97.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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GENOA SITE.—After the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee gradually became concentrated in one great, rambling village on the Loup. This lay about 1½ miles south of Genoa, on a broad, flat plain between Beaver Creek and the Loup.[53] The Skidi occupied the western part of the village; the other three bands located in what is now the Genoa Cemetery. A sod wall protected the settlement on the south and west sides, with the portions nearest Genoa left open. Each band is said to have had its own burial ground. That of the Grands was to the south, across the Loup River. The Skidi interred their dead on bluffs northwest of their village. The Tappage Cemetery was on a hill in what is now the north edge of Genoa and that of the Republicans was northeast of the city. All traces of the village have been obliterated and the cemeteries have suffered extensively at the hands of vandals. Few objects of native production have been found, as the Pawnee were very much under the influence of the Americans at this late date and were rapidly losing their own arts and industries.

GRAND PAWNEE SITES

The Grand Pawnee are often designated in early literature and on maps prior to 1800 as *Panis*. The main villages of the band were always on the south bank of the Platte, save for a short period between 1806 and 1824 (the latter date being approximate), and another from 1860 to 1875. During both of these periods they were on the north bank of the Loup, at the Horse Creek and Genoa sites, respectively. Two pure Grand Pawnee locations are recognized, viz, the Linwood and the Clarks sites; the Plum Creek site was occupied by members of at least two of the other bands. The Horse Creek site was dominantly Republican, hence is included in that section.

LINWOOD SITE.—This site is located approximately a mile south and slightly west of the town of Linwood, on the east bank of Skull Creek 3 miles south of the Platte River.[54] It occupies the western portion of an alluvial flat, a small embaymentlike arm of the Platte Valley extending perhaps three-quarters of a mile up Skull Creek, and is inclosed on the west, south, and east by high bluffs. Skull Creek, at least in former times, probably carried water at all seasons of the year, and immediately below the site an excellent spring provided water sufficient to meet the domestic needs for a considerable community.

The site, though extending nearly half a mile continuously along the creek, actually consists of two contiguous sites of very different age. The early phase of occupation, designated on map 2 as 9 A,

[53] SW¼ sec. 24 and SE¼ sec. 23, T. 17 N., R. 4 W., Nance County, Nebr.
[54] SW¼ sec. 35, T. 17 N., R. 4 E., Butler County, Nebr.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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surfaces have been cut various designs, for the most part of simple geometric character. The lines are deeply incised and give a very sharp, clear-cut cast of the various figures. The work may have been purely decorative in nature but there is a possibility that the incised slabs were used as molds. Heavy lead rings with three or more parallel flutings or ribs are one of the most common of grave finds (pl. 12, *g*); they are nearly identical with the cast obtainable from the mold represented by figure 9, *a*. Similarly, belt buckles could be easily cast by the use of the other molds figured, the shaded lines representing depressions and incisions (fig. 9, *b*, *c*). All of these designs are on specimens from the Hill site but far more elaborate and involved motifs cut into polished red stone occur at the early Linwood village (fig. 10). None of the stones, however, show the effect of heat, as would be expected if they had been subjected to treatment with molten metals, hence they may be merely decorated tablets. They have been found in graves as well as on the surface about village locations. (See Strong, 1935, p. 286.)

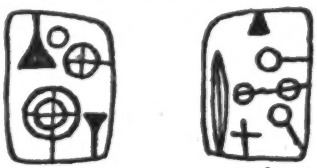

FIGURE 10.—Incised tablets ("molds"), Linwood site.

DRILLS.—Small T-shaped flint drills occur but rarely on the later Pawnee sites. They are usually less than 1½ inches in length, the transverse portion being slightly concave. A few simple drills of straight elongate form are also found.

PESTLE.—A single pestle has been recovered from the Skidi site near Palmer. It is of black gneissoid material, 12 inches long, 3 inches in greatest diameter and tapering to slightly less than 2 inches at the other extremity. The large end is much abraded and battered but otherwise the specimen is well worn, highly polished, and very nicely shaped. It represents a surface find.

CRYSTALS.—Two small quartz crystals, each about 1½ inches long with a yellowish, semitranslucent cast, were recovered at the Hill site. They are natural pebbles, unmodified, but have a smooth, worn appearance as though from long carrying in a pouch or cloth. They presumably represent fetishes.

"WHETSTONES."—These are always found as grave offerings and have been associated with the left hand of more than 80 percent of the adult male skeletons found at the Hill site. They are from 2 to 6 inches long and up to an inch wide. In cross section they are square, rectangular, and oval. A few are worn on the flat surfaces, as though from use as a whetstone, but the majority are merely shaped and slightly smoothed. They are of various materials, but usually of limestone, schist, or sandstone. It is doubtful whether

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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*172 324 764 most of the stones were intended for utilitarian purposes, and they may very well have been made for funerary or other ceremonial functions expressly (pl. 7, *a–m*).

*172 412 SHAFT POLISHERS.—These are always of dark brown, medium coarse sandstone, and are of one uniform type. They occur in pairs (pl. 7, *n*, *t*) and vary in length from 4 to 7½ inches. Almost invariably they are of the "nail-buffer" type, with a single longitudinal groove. Specimens with two grooves are absent, as are those with transverse grooves. All of the specimens figured are from the Hill site and are of unusually fine shape and workmanship; they have been used to only a slight extent but the grooves are nicely marked. Similar smoothers are found at most other sites and are in fact exceedingly widespread over the plains and adjoining areas.

*172 276 PIPES.—Stone pipes are the rule on all Pawnee village sites, with catlinite the most common material. The specimens figured (pl. 8, *a–k*) are from the Hill village on the Republican, with the exception of *h* and *i*, both of which are from the Burkett site. With two exceptions they are made of catlinite or some similar polished red stone; *a* is of gray, fine-grained material, and *g* is of coarse, friable red sandstone. In form they are nearly always of the elbow type, with the bowl at right angles to the stem, and commonly the stem is extended a short distance beyond the bowl. All were probably fitted with detachable stems of carved wood or reed, of which obviously few traces have survived.

The two large specimens in the center of the illustration, *e* and *f*, are of unusually fine workmanship, particularly as regards *f*. This pipe is 4¾ inches long with a bowl 1⅞ inches high by 1 inch square at the top; the bowl is still caked from much use. The effigy is about 2 inches long. The other pipe is a trifle shorter, but also has a square-topped bowl. According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the square bowl was indicative of chieftainship on the part of the owner, whereas the round-bowled pipes were the property of the medicine men and priests. The effigy pipe, *f*, was found with the remains of a child, over which lay the outspread skeleton of an eagle; *g* was in the same grave.

The tiny pipe, *i*, in the bottom row, is 1 inch long and has a squarish bowl with scalloped rim. Such small pipes are still highly prized by the older men of the Pawnee Tribe, and may hark back to the days when tobacco was used in very small quantities only in their ceremonies, instead of being smoked for pleasure. Two or three puffs would suffice to burn up all of the tobacco that would go into such a bowl.

Immediately in front of the bowl of this small pipe, i. e., nearest the smoker, may be seen a tiny vertical projection, which is pierced. The keel of *j* is similarly perforated and *k* has a deep groove cut

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ment consists of two or more members twisted together into a thick, rounded cord; the space between warp elements is generally about 1 inch. The weft consists of rushes, used in pairs; these make a half turn on each other between every two warp elements, one member passing on either side of the warp. The manner of treating the edges is not known; they may have been finished in selvage, but there is nothing to indicate that such was the case.

Mats, according to Dunbar,[84] were used on the floors of the lodge, on the beds, and as curtains in front of and between the sleeping compartments. They were also used for wrapping the bodies of the deceased for interment, as has been indicated above.

BASKETRY.—Coiled baskets were made by the Pawnee, according to Weltfish,[85] but no traces of basketry have so far come to light in excavation. The foundation of the coil consisted of a single element made by splitting willow or cottonwood twigs radially into three segments, which were then used with the apex upward. Willow or elm splints supplied the sewing element. Viewed from the inside of the basket, the coiling was in a clockwise spiral. The stitches did not interlock. The usual form of basket appears to have been a shallow, flat-bottomed bowl, with flaring lips.[86] Scanty but unmistakable evidences of coiled basketry of a high order of workmanship have come from the prehistoric Missouri River earth lodges of Nebraska, in the form of impressions on lumps of clay, but the historic Pawnee sites have not yet shown the trait. (Strong, 1935, pl. 16, *f*.)

MORTUARY CUSTOMS

In disposing of their dead the Pawnee practiced inhumation exclusively, at least within historic times. For the most part the rituals and general procedure were similar to those of their semisedentary neighbors, such as the Omaha, Oto, Ponca, and Kansa.[87] The graves were almost invariably on the highest hills near each village; if the hills were more than a mile or so distant interment was sometimes along the edges of ravines or the immediate banks of streams nearer the village. Low tumuli were raised over the remains.[88] These have since been entirely obliterated, so that there is at present nothing whatever in the way of surface indications to mark the graves. Where two or more bands occupied the same village, each appears to have had its own cemetery. The burial customs of all of the bands were, however, identical, hence will be

[84] 1918, p. 600.
[85] 1930, pp. 277–286.
[86] Ibid., p. 286.
[87] Long, 1823, vol. II, pp. 281–282.
[88] Ibid., p. 281; Irving, 1835, vol. II, p. 102; Oehler and Smith, 1851, p. 31; Clayton, 1921, p. 96; Bushnell, 1927, pl. 36.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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collectively treated as a tribal trait. For the most part information comes from the Hill site, and is based primarily upon the researches of Mr. A. T. Hill and of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey.

Three graves were opened by the survey party at the Hill site, in August 1930, all on the west slope of the main burial hill south of the village. Burial 1 was that of a very young child. It lay at a depth of 3 feet, in a small, ill-defined grave. The bones were so badly decayed that the orientation of the body was not determined. A single broken iron ring, a metal disk, and a tiny catlinite pipe with one notch on the stem were the sole offerings.

Burial 2 (pl. 11, *c*) was that of a subadolescent about 10 or 12 years old and was in very good condition. The grave was 3 feet 6 inches deep, 4 feet long, and some 18 inches wide. The skeleton lay on its left side, the feet drawn up toward the buttocks, and the knees and arms extended toward the front; the head was to the north. Immediately at the back of the cranium lay a half-cylindrical iron vessel with a small spout, apparently an army canteen of early nineteenth century type (pl. 12, *a*). Lumps of red ochre were found about the waist and to a lesser extent near the feet. All traces of clothing had long since disappeared, save for a quantity of colored glass beads about the feet, which probably came from moccasins.

Burial 3 (pl. 11, *a*, *b*) was the richest of the group. It was that of a small child, poorly preserved. The grave was 4 feet deep, 34 inches long, and 18 inches wide. The skull, rather badly broken, lay to the south; the rest of the skeleton was too fragmentary to yield any clues as to the arrangement of the body and limbs. The body had been completely wrapped in twined reed matting and then covered with bark. Over the whole, in disorderly fashion, lay several broken slats of worked wood about 2¼ inches wide and less than a half inch thick; the longest measured 17 inches, another 9 inches, the latter with two holes near one unbroken end. All of the wood was painted a dark purple and was very nicely smoothed; it was probably the framework of a cradle board. Near the middle of the body were a number of glass beads, apparently from a beaded belt or shirt front. The soil about the feet was literally impregnated with more beads, mostly white, blue, and red, doubtless from the decayed moccasins. Several heavy lead rings about three-eighths of an inch wide, a broken shell or bone gorget, and small fragments of other shell trinkets complete the list of funerary offerings.

A week after the operations just described the writer opened a grave discovered by Mr. A. T. Hill at the Palmer site. The grave was about a quarter of a mile due north of the village near the summit of one of the principal burial hills and had been revealed in cross section by recent deepening of a roadside ditch. The total

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depth was 5 feet 6 inches, of which 4 or 5 inches was due to downward creep of the hillside soil subsequent to interment. The burial cavity measured 33 inches east to west by 24 inches north to south; it had been undercut quite noticeably toward the north, so that the contents did not lie directly below the original mouth of the grave. The remains were those of a young child not over 6 or 7 years of age, and were exceptionally well preserved (pl. 11, *d*). The skeleton lay on its right side, with the head toward the east. The feet were folded closely against the buttocks, with the knees partially drawn up toward the body. The right arm lay fully extended just in front of and along the body; the left arm was folded over the pelvis. Immediately in front of the knees was a small gray pot, inverted and empty (pls. 3, *c;* 11, *d*). The only other objects were fragmentary lead rings, two of which lay on either side of the cranium in such a position as to predicate their use as ear pendants.

Bushnell,[89] in discussing Pawnee burial customs, states that "according to Francis La Flesche the bodies were placed in the graves in a sitting position." This statement is wholly at variance with the results of archeological work in the historic sites. Upward of 40 graves have been opened at the Hill site in the past 8 years, yet not one instance of a skeleton in a sitting position has come to light. Similarly the work at the Palmer, Linwood, and other important sites has failed to disclose any verification of La Flesche's statement, and present indications are that so far as the Nebraska Pawnee were concerned interment in a sitting position was uncommon.

As was noted in each of the cases above described, the bodies were usually flexed, wholly or in part, doubtless to conserve space. The bodies were never consistently oriented with reference to any of the cardinal points of the compass, nor were they laid any more frequently on the right side than on the left, or vice versa. Undercutting of the grave, especially toward the north, was quite common; the amount varied with the depth, which was usually between 3 and 6 feet. The soil covering the bodies is generally mottled and mixed with organic material and of a looser texture than that elsewhere.

The bodies were usually wrapped in matting or bark for interment and were always accompanied by mortuary offerings. Shaped stones (pl. 7) from 3 to 6 inches in length are nearly always found in or near the left hand of adult males. The offerings are most commonly found in front of the body if lying on its side, or on the chest if lying face upward. At the Hill site flints and steel, glass beads, lead rings, wooden-backed mirrors, knives, shell gorgets, Spanish, British, and American peace medals, military buttons, cloth, foodstuffs, and innumerable other odds and ends were used as offer-

[89] 1927, p. 79.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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*172 764 ings. A wild-cat skull with a copper military button set into each eye socket was taken from a grave at the Hill site; it doubtless represented a fetish. Occasionally rodent skulls, crystals, animal claws and teeth, and similar objects are found close together, as though originally contained in a bag. Catlinite pipes (pl. 8) are sometimes found; pottery is very seldom present.

It is of interest to note that sometimes a skeleton is found minus an arm, a leg, or even a skull, though otherwise well preserved. Such individuals may have been victims of a raid or of some other mishap. Amputation by cutting through the bones seems to be absent.

CONCLUSIONS

*172 105 In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to present the available traditional, historical, and archeological evidence bearing on the historic and protohistoric culture of the Pawnee. Here we endeavor to correlate these various lines of evidence, pointing out certain of their wider cultural implications, and attempting to fit the Pawnee into the general scheme of aboriginal American culture. To do so solely on the basis of the material here presented may seem premature, yet the writer is convinced that for the sake of future work these suggested relationships, even if more or less tenuous, should be indicated. Hence we will briefly discuss each of these three major headings in order.

The only point on which all Pawnee migration traditions agree is that the tribe originally lived to the south of its historic habitat, though the exact locality varies somewhat. Dunbar intimates that the ancestral home was with the Wichita on the lower Red River,[90] whence the two tribes moved northward as one people. Grinnell, on the strength of what he regarded as the oldest migration legend of the tribe, postulates "an original home for the Pawnees in Old Mexico, and . . . a possible connection with the so-called 'Pueblo tribes' . . ."[91] The statement recorded by this authority to the effect that the Pawnee formerly dwelt in stone houses in the southwest[92] is hardly to be taken at face value. There is virtually nothing in Pawnee material culture to suggest puebloan influences, and since there was frequent contact between the two groups all through historic times the idea of a former use of stone habitations may be a relatively late and superficial addition to the account. Dorsey[93] carries the tribe back only as far as southeastern Nebraska, near the present site of Nemaha, and his traditions cast relatively little light

[90] 1880, a, p. 251.
[91] 1893, p. 224.
[92] Ibid.
[93] 1906, p. 8.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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172 321 42 PLATE 9.—Bonework from historic Pawnee sites. *a* is a 12½-inch pick made of the ulna of a bison; *b*, hide-tanning tool; *c*, two small picks made of deer antler, each about 7 inches long; *d*, arrowshaft straighteners made of bison rib; *e*, bone awls; *f*, hide scraper of elk horn, 12 inches long. *g–n*, bone paint brushes cut from joints of bison and other large animals; none measures more than 2 inches in greatest dimensions. *f*, is from the Palmer site; the other specimens are from the Hill site.

PLATE 10.—Bone tools from historic Pawnee sites. *a–d*, digging tools made from bison scapulae. *a*, from the Hill site, measures 14 inches by 7 inches and was originally square-bladed; *b*, from the Palmer site, is 11 inches long and 6 inches wide; *c* and *d* are from a cache east of Genoa, *d* measuring 15 inches by 6 inches. *e–k*, fleshing tools; *e* and *k* are each 9 inches long, *i* is 6½ inches, and all are finely notched on the edges. Note perforation in *j* for passage of a thong about the wrist of the operator. *e*, *j*, and *k* from Palmer site; *f*, *g*, Hill site; *h*, *i*, Clarks site.

172 764 PLATE 11.—Pawnee burials. *a*, burial 3, Hill site, showing fragments of broken cradle board (?) and rush matting which covered remains; *b*, burial 3, Hill site, after removal of covering; *c*, burial 2, Hill site, showing old powder cannister or canteen back of head; *d*, burial at the Palmer site, with a complete pot as the sole mortuary offering.

172 177 411 42 PLATE 12.—Metal trade material from the Hill site. Historic Pawnee. *a*, army canteen of early nineteenth century type from burial 2 (see p. 92 and pl. 11, *c*); *b*, *c*, iron lance heads from caches; *e*, hammer from flintlock; *d*, bridle bit; *f*, arrowpoints cut from iron hoe blades; *g*, three lead rings (see pp. 79 and 92); *h*, lead pistol ball; *i*, piece of gun barrel; *j*, belt buckle; *k*, small chisel; *l*, *frizel* from flintlock; *m*, iron hoe of type usually found on historic Pawnee sites, this specimen with remains of charred wooden handle still visible in the socket.

619 131 They do not claim to have lived on the Missouri. They claim once to have owned all the land west of the Missouri from the Platt to the Kansas. The Loups went off from the principal band and went south of the Osage River where they remained for many years. The Republican Pawnees once occupied the Republican fork of the Kansas. They do not know where they came from. They say that there are the sites of [361] their villages still known to them on the Nemaha, Salt Creek, and on the Platt and Republican fork of the Kansas. The Keeches, so-called by the Pawnees, who now live in the west end of the Indian territory somewhere, are cognate. They live near the Pawnee Picts, south of the Osages and the Comanches.

Tribes [Clans]

614 He [Allis] thinks they are divided into tribes.[12] The marks which he has seen on their robes and lodges are the Eagle, Bear, Beaver, Owl, Buffalo, Deer. The son succeeds the father as chief. He was unable to give me any information upon this question.

764 He never saw but one burial. They excavated a grave or trench and then dug an opening in the side large enough to insert the body under the undisturbed earth, laid it in horizontally, covered it with a mat, and deposited by its side a number of articles, filled up the trench and raised a mound over it.

Pawnee Matting

285 He [Allis] showed me a specimen of their work in a floor matting made of a species of rush. It was coarse but strong, about two or three yards wide and five yards long. It was stitched or woven on bark threads and very creditable work. With instruction in the art of manufacturing and with reeds of a supe-

[p 136 (A)]

12 [see ant. 116 p 220 (A) - Analyst]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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was made in oblong form about three feet long and a foot and a half wide, with its long axis running north–south.

The next step was to get everything in order for cooking. They had enough water, and now they needed wood for fuel. As she was pegging down the tent, No Corn remarked to her husband, Horse Rider, "We're pretty nearly finished now and we have no wood." Then he would go off carrying a long rope. He used the rope as a kind of lasso: attaching a stick about a foot long to the end, he would throw it up around a dry cottonwood limb and the cord would wind itself around the limb so that it could be pulled down. It would take considerable skill to pull it down without having it fall on your head, which sometimes happened despite the best of care. Horse Rider tried to get enough wood to last them for that evening and the next day while they stayed at the rendezvous camp. Some of the wood he gathered from the ground, tied it up with his cord, and came into camp carrying it on his back. As soon as he got in, he made the fire and White Woman began to cook. They had a simple meal of bread and coffee and some sand cherries for dessert. No Corn volunteered to make the coffee. While the cooking was going on, the old ladies were stretched out resting, and Victory Call was doing the same. Everyone was very tired. It was proper to joke a bit while the food was being prepared and during the meal. Horse Rider began to tease No Corn about how she had fallen in the water.

Immediately after supper the women cleared up the dishes and sat down to rest—tired from all their work. Horse Rider went off to see how the horses were getting along and Victory Call went up and sat on top of one of the sand hills to have a smoke and to look around and at the encampment below. Presently five or six men joined him for a smoke and some conversation.

The boy Otter ran off at once to the river to go swimming with the rest of the children. On the way he saw some other little boys leaning over a pond. "See the sunfish. Let's 'choke' them!" They tied some bread to the end of a string and let it down into the pond and as the fish bit, they pulled them up and 'choked' them. Then the boys went off and gave the fish to an old woman who was living alone in a shelter she had built for herself. Her relatives gave her something, but would not take care of her and she had no other place to go. "Here, grandma," they said, "Here's some fish." "That's fine," said the old lady. Later that summer while they were setting up camp one day, the boys came to give her fish and she was dead. They dug a hole in the embankment against which she had been leaning and buried her there. Man Chief, who was Eagle Chief's son, and a generous young man, gave a red blanket to wrap her in. There were only one or two old women alone like this. Sometimes while they were on the hunt, such old people would say, "Just give me enough to eat and go on."

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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rubbing after it gets wet. If the tent cover was folded when wet it would get moldy. The sinew bowstring also would be ineffective when wet. Rain had very serious consequences when they had sliced a quantity of buffalo meat and were drying it on the rack. If it should be wet by a sudden storm, the meat throughout the encampment would be spoiled. There was nothing that could be done with this meat. If one tried to eat it, it tasted like dead wood. It fell to pieces in one's hands. Even if one tried to cure it over a fire, it simply rotted. Meat once exposed to rain, even after it had been cooked, became moldy next day. A rack of meat that had been rained on was called *kariks-kutu*, "rack-dead, spoiled." The meat had to be thrown away.

Accommodation and adjustment to rainy weather was therefore very important and a nice distinction had to be made between the problem of delay and the risks involved.

One day word was sent to White Eagle that an important man of the Man-Going-Downstream Band was so ill that he could not go on. White Eagle had to consider very carefully whether they would go ahead and leave him or delay the entire group. A day's delay might mean the difference between reaching the full herd on time or finding only stragglers left after the herd had passed. Considering, however, that the Man-Going-Downstream Band was in a "Child" relation in the Peace Pipe ritual to the Skidi and was in the process of giving them a return gift of horses, White Eagle diplomatically decided to delay the march so that the sick man could be treated by a doctor. It was also felt that if interband relationships were not solidified from time to time, one or the other of the South Bands might conceivably be induced to collaborate with the Sioux on some occasion. Then everyone would consider that White Eagle had failed in his administrative functions and in his diplomacy. The death of an influential man in another band would also be the occasion for delay until after the funeral. If the wife of a prominent man were about to give birth, the whole family of this tent and a doctor would stay behind and wait, and White Eagle would assign one of his principle braves to see that things were all right with "their Child" (in terms of the calumet), while the rest of the camp moved on. In the case of an expected birth to one of the wives of White Eagle himself, he would request Eagle Chief to lead on and say, "My wife is going to be sick." But Eagle Chief would refuse to go ahead saying, "I might spoil your luck. We can go on when she's well again." Ordinarily a woman would have to go aside while traveling and have her child in the open aside from the line of march. Also, in the case of death, the own family would usually stay behind and bury the person, then come on and join the rest. After a day's delay, everyone would be glad to be moving along.

Notes and Comments

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917.

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water. Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation (1925, pp. 141-161).

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making.

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof, *Askats;* Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Trus-katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patta.* Horses were never buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the horse.

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They were: Wide Feet, *As-kataribu';* White Spotted, *Paras-taka;* Bear Head, *Kuruks-paksu;* Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat;* Hate-His-Tail, *Pits-tatur-ritku;* Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats;* Wooly, *Pararus;* Snub Nose, *Trus-kataku;* Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.* Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross, 1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march pulling the travois in 1834–1836. The Pawnees were able to identify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties.

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee